



KNOWLEDGE . . . LIBERTY . . . UTILITY . . . REPRESENTATION . . . RESPONSIBILITY.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1834.

NO. 37.

REVIEW.

EDUCATION—No. X.

LECTURES ON POPULAR EDUCATION, Delivered to the *Edinburg Association for procuring Instruction in Useful and Entertaining Science*, in April and November, 1833, &c. By GEORGE COMBE. First American Edition—with Additions by the Author. Boston: Marsh & Co. 1834.

The second lecture opens with this pertinent question, which perhaps ought to have been the opening of the first. "The question," says Mr. Combe, "naturally presents itself—What constitutes a good Education?"

But his answer is by no means such as the question required. He does not say what is a good Education; but he attempts to unfold it, metaphorically, by what he calls *means and ends*; which he discovers in the conduct of an architect, who first considers the locality on which he is to build, then prepares a plan, and his architect requires to have studied mathematics and drawing.

"O lame and impotent conclusion!"

Condillac has elucidated the same conception in application to analysis, and in a manner much superior and more intelligible. The following opens the second chapter of Condillac's *Logic*; the title of the chapter is—*"Analysis, the only method by which knowledge can be acquired; and how we learn this from nature."*

"I suppose a castle that commands a vast and luxuriant plain, over which nature has been pleased to spread abundance; where art has profited by the situations which it presents, to produce variety and embellish nature still more. We arrive in this castle at night. Next morning the windows are thrown open, just when the sun begins to gild the horizon; we have caught a glimpse of the prospect, and the windows are immediately closed upon us.

"Though this plain was exhibited to us but for an instant, it is certain that we saw every object which it contained. In a second instant, we should have received precisely the same impressions which the objects made on us in the first. The same effect would be produced in a third; consequently, if the windows had not been shut again, we should only have continued seeing what we had seen at first.

"But that first glance is not sufficient to give us a complete knowledge of that plain, that is, to make us discern the particular objects which it contains. It is for this reason that when the windows were shut again, none of us would have been able to give an account of what he had seen. This is the way in which we look at many things, but learn nothing."

"At length the windows are again thrown open, and are not to be closed as long as the sun is above the horizon. We again see, and for a long while all that we had at first seen. But if, like men in ecstasy, we continue, as in the first instance, looking at the whole crowd of diversified objects, when the night comes upon us, we shall know no more about them than we know when the windows which had been opened, were suddenly shut again. In order, therefore, to obtain a due knowledge of that plain, it is not sufficient to see it at all once; we must see each of its parts one after another; and instead of embracing the whole at one view, we must fix our attention on one object at a time, and such objects one after another. This is what nature teaches us all. If she gave us the faculty of seeing a multitude of things at once; she gave us also the faculty of distinctly beholding only one at one time, that is, to direct our eyes upon a single one; and to this faculty, which is a consequence of our organization, we owe all the knowledge we acquire through the sense of sight.—

This faculty is common to all of us. If, however, we wish at a subsequent time to speak of that plain, it will be perceived that we do not all know it equally well. Some will give a more or less correct description, where there will be found many things as they really are, while others, confounding every thing, will make descriptions in which it will be impossible to recognize any thing that exists there. Each of us had, nevertheless, seen the same objects; but the eyes of some were thrown around at random, while those of others were directed in a certain order. Now what is this order? Nature herself displays it; it is the order in which she presents the objects. There are some objects which more particularly attract the vision; they are more striking, they command, and all the others seem as if made to be arranged about them. These we observe first, and when we have remarked their respective situations, the others place themselves in the intervals, each in the proper situation.

"We begin, therefore, by the principal objects; we successively observe and compare them in order to judge of the relations which they bear to each other, when by this means we ascertain their respective situations, we successively observe all those which occupy the intervals; we compare each of them with the next principal object, and we determine their positions.

"Then we review all the objects whose form and situation we have examined, and we embrace them at one view. The order which, in our mind, prevails among them, is therefore no longer separate and successive, it is collective and simultaneous. This is the order in which they exist, and we discover them all at once in a distinct manner.

"This knowledge we owe to the art or manner with which we have directed our attention. We only acquired it in succession; but once acquired in this way, the collective whole is at the same time present to the mind, as the objects which it exhibits are all present to the eyes which see them.

"It is therefore with the mind as with the eye; it sees a multitude of things at once, and we must not wonder at it, since all sensations of sight belong to the mind.

"This sight of the mind, or intellect, is like the sight of the body; if a man is well organized, both require no more than exercise, and in some measure we cannot circumscribe the space which they embrace. Indeed, an exercised mind discerns in a subject on which it meditates, a multitude of relations which are not generally perceived; just as the exercised eyes of a great painter, in a moment discovers in a landscape a multitude of things, which we see with him, but of which, however, the peculiarities escape our notice.

"We may, by going from castle to castle, study new plains and recall them to mind like the first. Then we may happen either to give the preference to one of them, or to find that each of them has its peculiar beauties. But we only judge of them because we compare them; we only compare them because we recall them all to mind at the same time; therefore the mind sees more than the eye.

"If we reflect clearly on the manner in which we acquire knowledge through sight, we shall remark that an extremely compounded object, such as a vast plain, dissolves itself as it were, since we only know it, when its parts, one after another, have placed themselves with order in our mind.

"We have seen in what order this dissolution happens. The principal objects place themselves in our mind, the others follow them, and rank themselves according to the relations in which they stand with the first. We make this decomposition only because an instant is not sufficient for us to study all those objects. But we only decompose in order to recompose, and when the knowledge is acquired, the things instead of being successive, have within the mind, the same simultaneous order which they have without. It is in this simultaneous order, the knowledge consists which we possess of them. For if we could not retrace

it together, we should never be able to judge of the relations which they bear to one another, and we should know them imperfectly.

"To analyze is therefore nothing else but to observe in a successive order the qualities of an object, so as to give them in the mind the simultaneous order in which they exist. This is what nature causes all of us to do. Analysis, therefore, which some suppose to be known only by philosophers, is known to every body, and in what I have said, I have taught the reader nothing, I have only caused him to remark what he continually does.

"Though at one view I discern a multitude of objects in a plain which I have studied, yet sight is never more distinct than when we circumscribe it; and when we look at a small number of objects at once: we always distinguish less than we see.

"It is the same with the sight of the mind; I have at once acquired a great variety of knowledge which has become familiar to me; I see the whole, but I do not discern it alike. To see distinctly all at once what offers itself in my mind, I must decompose it, as I have decomposed what offered itself to my sight; I must analyze my thoughts.

"Thought is analyzed in the same way as exterior objects; we decompose it the same way; we retrace to ourselves the parts of our thought in a successive order, to restore them in a simultaneous order. We perform this composition and decomposition by conforming to the relations which things have to one another, as being principal or subordinate, and because we could not analyze a plain, if the eye did not embrace the whole of it, we should not be able to analyze our thought if the mind did not embrace the whole of it. In both cases, likewise, we must see the whole at once, otherwise we may assure ourselves that we have successively seen all the parts."

These illustrations of analysis are preferable to Mr. Combe's attempt to elucidate by the principles of architecture.

In page 46, he proceeds thus: "To limit the Education of a man who is destined to act the part of a husband, father, and member of society, to reading, writing, accounts, and the dead languages, is worse than the project of arresting the projects of an architect's Education at drawing and mathematics. A young lady who can draw a very handsome picture of a cottage, could not build the fabric. A scholar in Greek and Latin, acquires the ideas of Greek and Latin; he is not a man for the business of the existing society."

(To be continued.)

MEMORANDUMS.

PHILADELPHIA,  
ELIZABETH ST.—NEAR SOUTH SIXTH. }

This paper is published in the quarto form—

Because it is more commodious for perusal than the folio:

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PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM DUANE.

PHILADELPHIA, DEC. 10, 1834.

## PROSPECTS ON THE POTOMAC.—No. II.

The annual Message of the President has, by this time, taken its ample range, and the social sympathies, and the anti-social antipathies, have taken their respective positions. The paper itself is so simple, unaffected, and clear, that exposition by the usual course of political examination, deduction, or inference, can add no light to its intrinsic information; and no other mode of illustration is left than such as may arise out of historical reference to the past; conjectural speculations on the future; or suggestions, such as the facts it develops may invite the judgment to suggest, that does not belong to the business of the communication. It contains much upon which no more requires to be said, and is fruitful of matter for prospective speculation.

The prosperous condition of the country is one of those forms which has become almost a common-place expression; but in the Message it is pregnant with remembrances too recent not to be called up, by the contrast which this prosperity presents with the never to be forgotten operations of a privileged Banking institution upon the property, peace, morals, laws, and institutions of the country.

The Message makes no special reference to the means or the designs by which the public prosperity was assailed—it is enough that through the energy of the government, and the salutary operations of the ballot, the country has overcome the conspiracy which assailed all that is precious to man, and to the world at large, in the exemplary success of free government over corruption, seduction, violence, and unparalleled sacrifice of character to revenge and faction.

All that relates to European States is full, and calls for no elucidation which it does not make, that which refers to the fulfilment of the treaty with Sicily is a happy result of a patient but resolved policy.

The affair of the treaty negotiated with Belgium, is curious rather than serious,—but it presents matter for reflection and inference on the mysteries of royal diplomacy. The connexion of the monarch of Belgium, with the two regalities of England and France, would seem to make an equipoise, and that the interests of Belgium, as a commercial state, not inferior, for its extent, to any in Europe, added to the grand question of the freedom of the seas, in which France has always from policy and necessity taken the lead, would seem to preponderate in favor of a treaty recognizing commercial freedom. It is the odium of all monarchies, that they always sacrifice the interests of the people to their private views. Though England in her policy might be thereby, in her pride and her assuming be thwarted; the rejection of a treaty on liberal principles by Belgium, presents the absolute proof of English predominance in Belgic councils; there is no other possible solution of the enigma. The Belgian minister could never have negotiated such a treaty, but under express instructions—it is so declared—the annulment after negotiation is therefore an after-stroke of royal diplomacy.

In relation to the new states on our continent, and the disposition of Spain to recognize their independence, we confess we are not sanguine as to Spain. Much as we know of Spain from history and from travellers, we apprehend that the Spanish character is not very definitely comprehended. Every nation, as well as the Chinese, is prone to consider itself as a centre of the universe; the notion is more or less imagined in every one. England and

France exhibits this vain-glory in different measures and degrees. All who are not English in England are Frenchmen, that is, as all other people were at Athens, either *onion-eating Magarensians*, or barbarians; the egotism of the French is of a less insulting feature; they are proud of their politeness and their valor. John Bull says, "*there is nobody like us.*"

The Spaniard is as vain-glorious as either—but in a different way. Whoever has had an opportunity of acquaintance with the Arabians, could not fail to mark the inveterate obstinacy and opinionativeness which characterize them. In this respect, the Persians are Asiatic French, amiable, polished, and vain; the Arab, dry, rough, and for ever absorbed in himself. Such are the Spaniards, for *Arabs*, *Saracens*, and *Moors*, and we might add the Spaniards south of the Ebro, are not only characteristically but morally the same people; making allowance for such influences as proceed out of the opposite extremes of religious institutions and ethics.

We have made these comparisons as to Spain, because they apply with full color to the people of the new states. It is very surprising to the stranger in South America, to find every thing so very Asiatic. The very first house you see on the coast of Terra Firma recalls to mind the style of building at Bassein or Bushire; the churches dedicated to the Virgin, have their spacious rotundas like mosques, and in many instances the supplementary towers, which resemble those of the Moslems. The people differ only in the absence of *beards* and *turbans*, and the frequency of the *cuerpo*; which is, however, compensated by the constant recurrence of mustachios, like the Persians, and the *cloak*, or *paucho*, whose counterparts characterize the Arabs every where.

You do not always discern the same features, on the Manzanares or the Tagus; but whatever the features, however blended by *foreign additions*, you always find the Spaniard, and his type in South America, as fully persuaded as any John Bull can be, that *there is nobody like him*; and most certainly it is only where we have described, "*himself is his only parallel.*"

Spain has not been unfruitful of men of great minds; but they have become great only by casting aside the oppressive weight of obstinate and unbending manners; so it is in South America, (in which we embrace Mexico,)—all negotiations with those new states must be conducted upon the same principles as if it were with Spain. Our present Secretary of State, is the only minister we ever had who understood the court of Madrid.

The Spaniards did not acknowledge the independence of Holland more than thirty years after they were really free, and had almost swept the ocean of Spanish ships. What change the restoration of the Cortes may make in Spain, will depend upon the measure of public spirit, which may be infused into it, and by the entire exclusion of ecclesiastics from political concerns. We do not expect that the *Saracenic* pride and obstinacy of Spain will bend to a recognition of the new republics; and the possession of independence, however unworthily it has been enjoyed, has become too well understood ever to be delinquished or put in jeopardy. Indeed, the South Americans are aware of the danger to which they would be exposed, if the free access of Spaniards from Europe were admitted; they are not averse from commerce with Spain, because habits long fixed, are not easily abandoned; but they will never admit Spaniards from Europe to naturalization, as we do the inhabitants of all nations of fair reputation. It may be suitable in this place to mark some facts which hold a great influence in the South American States.

Under the monarchy, a South American could occupy no public station. None other can hold such stations now. The whole people consist of a few planters—a great number of laborers, and a greater number who do nothing; not because they are not able or willing, for they are both—but it was the policy of Spain to prevent

industry in South America, as it is the policy of England to destroy industry in Ireland, lest by becoming rich and prosperous, they should feel the yoke, and assert independence.

There never was a more gross libel on a people than that of charging the Spanish Americans with laziness. The war of Venezuela should have put an end to this *political slander*. But the absence of all means of useful occupation leaves little or nothing for the South Americans to do; nature is so bounteous as so furnish food in such abundance, and at so small cost of labor, that it is perfectly ludicrous to accuse a people of laziness because they are not at work by candle light in the morning and candle light at night, as in countries to which Providence has granted nothing without excessive labor or application.

South America has no commerce—for it has no roads! Lands equal to any of the Mississippi bottoms, are of no value, because, to carry one harvest of the product of the soil to a market, would cost more than the price of ten years' harvest. The secret, we repeat it, of their impoverishment, is *want of roads*.

They have the impediments of the legal tribe—the notarial tribe; and as there is no mercantile pursuit—no naval, and now no military, and the clerical orders have lost their power, the passion for office and power is universal, and this *unlocks* the enigma of their civil wars, which must go on till those born under the monarchy are replaced by their children, grown into men and republicans, until commerce builds roads, and towns, and opens the channels through which the fruits of the richest soils can flow into the general intercourse of the world.

The transactions with France are so explicit and unreservedly explained, that no more could be said than upon conjecture, as to the possible causes of such extraordinary conduct displayed in the public functionaries of France. The recent overtures to the Duke de Broglie, to resume a seat in the ministry, and his refusal, are remarkable, because the reasons assigned for his refusal relate expressly to the treaty of indemnity—that minister having negotiated the treaty, and resigned when the appropriation was withheld by the representative body.

In our paper, anticipating the message, we perceive we were not mistaken. The Jefferson policy continues to distinguish the Executive throughout his noble and manly administration. The matter is now in the hands of the authorities in which it is vested by the Constitution; and we shall see whether this event is *to be or not to be*, a shuttle-cock for the political *matadors*.

The state of the Treasury is one among the many proofs of the false calculations, and the folly of those men who have sought to embarrass the public policy, and at the same time, afflict and insult the American people. The Treasury concerns are fairly stated; and though there would have been in other hands great boasting, it is pleasant to see the unaffected manner in which such happy results of a wise policy are presented to the country.

Though not before the public in our present pursuit, we could not but anticipate this prosperity of the Treasury—because foreign commerce must always depend for its sufficiency, as well as its surplus, upon the *home industry*. We cannot send *bank notes abroad*; they are worth nothing, and produce nothing; and it was not possible for any man, with a grain of understanding, to look at our census, and mark the increase of population *already born*, with some one or other sort of productive capacity, without following up the reflection, with the necessary inference, that this vast mass of increased population consumes something for which an equivalent is given, and that they must produce more than they consume. In the great *clock-work* of society, those wheels work upon each other; and like those artificial works, from which we have drawn our similitude, the *Treasury*



must resemble the dial plate which points out the progress of riches and prosperity.

We cannot avoid an object which has been a favorite one, and a well digested one for more than half a century. Seeing that there will be a large surplus in the Treasury, we would recommend to the attention of the public authorities, the propriety of laying the foundation of a GREAT RAIL ROAD, which should have its first centre in the city of Washington, and its extremities in Maine and Mobile or Orleans. This first road being only the Eastern chain of communication nearest the seaboard, to be followed on its completion, by another parallel road to be the western chain, its extremes Vermont and Missouri. These the greater lines, to be forked with other collateral branches, which should be governed by population and position.

These are but general ideas, the details are not difficult of conception, the benefits are beyond the powers of ordinary calculation. We have the examples hourly before us—we recollect when a visit to Lancaster, only sixty-two and a-half miles, was a three days journey; it is now capable of being travelled in three hours. The time, the expense saved, men are not accustomed to calculate collectively—but it is a rich economy, it is an addition of so much time to life. In noticing the new states of the South, we ascribed their want of cultivation to want of commerce, and their want of commerce to want of roads; the same extends to us in a degree. We received a note of the Alabama State Bank; no bank is in better credit, but we could obtain nothing for it—and why? the reason was we had no direct intercourse with Alabama. It is a new settled country, and as to internal roads it is yet what South America is, only that having its navigable waters it holds its intercourse exclusively by sea.

A great rail road might be commenced at the City of Washington, and twenty miles each way constructed the first year, and so continued by annual augmentations till it had reached the extremes. We hold these opinions dependant on the great questions which have been raised to embarrass the Government from time to time, or to gratify private jealousies under public pretences; there can be no doubt of the consent of the several states to all of whom it would be a benefit. We urge nothing on the score of frequent intercommunion, and better knowledge of the people among each other; and here we leave it, as we have left many other public suggestions, which we have seen realized by men with whom we would not dispute the credit—satisfied with the thing, that being fame enough.

On the *Bank business* the Message is directly and characteristically energetic and irresistible—we shall not attempt to abstract, because it would be to divest the truth of its brightness and disarm Hercules; especially as we may have occasion to call it up again; taking only the concluding recommendation, which we copy verbally as deserving the plaudits of the country.

"I feel it to be my duty to recommend (to Congress) that a law be passed authorizing the sale of the public stock; that the provision of the charter requiring the receipt of the notes of the Bank in payment of public dues, shall, in accordance with the power reserved to Congress in the 14th section of the charter, be suspended until the Bank pays to the Treasury the dividends withheld; and that all laws connecting the government or its officers, with the Bank, directly or indirectly, be repealed, and that the institution be left hereafter to its own resources and means."

Upon these recommendations the whole country will make a loud acclaim, and congratulate itself in the Presidency of a man unmoved by faction, unshaken by menaces of assassination, and the slanderous opprobrium of the Bank itself in its official publications,

Congress will see in the late elections the sentiments and wishes of the country, and it remains now to be seen whether the folly manifested at the last session of Congress is to be renewed with renewed shame at this—or abandoned from respect to public opinion.

## NULLIFICATION.

The Legislature of South Carolina is in session, and the sedition which was so effectively quieted by the proclamation, is still struggling with school-boy malice, to do mischief in spite!

It may be remembered, that at a former period, when the sedition had gained its greatest excitement—when good men retired from the seats of their nativity and their kindred, to seek in States farther South, and in the fertile valley of the Mississippi, quiet and prosperity—when South Carolina had lost 60,000 of its inhabitants by emigration, and abhorrence, or fear of the disturbers of the national quiet—in that period of violence, proscription, and terror, a law was passed, requiring all persons in office to take a new oath, the object of which was to annul and disoblige the allegiance which the citizens of all the States owe to the Federal Constitution.

Numbers were divested of their employments under this pragmatic oath; and all were menaced with proscription who adhered to their country, the laws, and their obligations. This pragmatic oath was carried to be tested before the highest court of law in South Carolina, where it was nullified by a solemn decision on its unconstitutionality; and, unless in the exhibition of remorseless animosity displayed by the leaders of the sedition, it has since remained inoperative.

But on Saturday, the 29th of last month, (November,) there was an attempt to renew or re-enact the same oath, with such a modification as was presumed sufficient to obviate the decision of the Superior Court; and we find in the *Southern Times*, the official Gazette of the Nullifiers, an editorial complaint on the course of argument in the debate; which we shall give in the words of the article.

"The new oath was taken up in the House of Representatives on Saturday, and argued more at length than we had supposed could be demanded, on a question already so thoroughly canvassed, both in the House and before the People. In this, however, it seems we were mistaken. After twelve months of discussion, during which this difference was scarcely so much as hinted at, we observe with feelings that it is useless to conceal, a division on the subject, even in our own ranks. [that is Nullification ranks!] Messrs. M'Cord and Wardlaw contended, that the word *allegiance* in this oath, was used with no fixed legal import, and that although it would bind them *in foro conscientiae*, to a renunciation of all other allegiance, yet others, entertaining different sentiments, might fairly take it in whatever sense would best accord with their individual opinions. Messrs. Cohen and Northrop argued that the allegiance sworn, was of necessity exclusive; that whether or not the legislature intended it, since the Convention, [that is the Nullification Convention of a former time,] declared that those who owe allegiance to this State, cannot yield it to any other. The word *allegiance* must be so interpreted as not to contradict the Ordinance, which is in fact, a part of the Constitution."

In this latter construction the Editor of the Times, who appears to be a strong hand, and in the full confidence, if not one of the leading Nullifiers, *unhesitatingly subscribes*. And as we take this *unhesitating* adoption to be in fact, official; we so give it and so consider it.

The matter which follows is of that kind of argument, which, as the spider spins his web, is drawn wholly out of the bowels of Nullification. It has been often remarked that men who have devoted their lives to artificial logic, are the worst logicians in the world. Men who have delved into books, without application of what books contain to the passing revolutions of knowledge and of mind, can do nothing but quote authority—they cannot think like men unembarrassed by the shackles of artificial education or professional habits; so that when they arrive at an obstacle which a pile of canons, or the fathers, or the sophists, or the mechanical rhetoricians cannot enable them to climb over or to reach, then their only resort is—not common sense, not moral and social obligation—but their spider logic; they make an argument out of metaphors—usually with no more identity than the hackneyed ornaments of speech.

Take a specimen:—

"In this sense alone, [that is the sense above expressed by Messrs. Cohen and Northrop,] has it, [the oath,] any meaning whatever. For if it admits with a clear conscience, those who present themselves, armed with the axe and knife of the butcher, ready at the command of a foreigner, to plunge them into the bosom of their own country—those, who while they swear allegiance to the States, openly recognise what they sagaciously term

a higher allegiance, to that power which has proved itself our greatest enemy; if these are admitted into office, in the name of reason, whom doth the oath exclude? and if it excludes none, for what earthly purpose was it framed?"

This is the kind of logic which we designate *cob-web spinning!* Look at it! Here we see the Government of the twenty-four States, or rather the twenty-three and a fraction—are personified as the butcher, armed with the axe and the knife.

Then this butcher, at the command of a foreigner—(ominous reference!) to plunge them into the bosom of the country;—inundo, by the said country here meaning the Nullifiers!

Next comes the recognition of a higher allegiance to that power which has proved itself our greatest enemy. The allegiance here referred to is that due to the United States under a constitution recognized and sustained by the whole twenty-four States, with the exception of the fraction of Nullification—and that which has proved itself the greatest enemy of the people of the said twenty-three States, and a fraction! Now if this be not the very essence of what Swift calls *balderdash*—common sense is all a joke!

We learn from this official, that the Legislature of South Carolina is pledged to enact a law defining treason and affixing a proper punishment thereto! and we find exactly the same course of logic adopted in this case which we heard delivered by Judge Chase on the trial of Judge Cooper, and in Congress on the Sedition Law;—it was then said that "no new offence was created, it only defined what already exists under the Constitution." "It is the duty of the Legislature, (so said in Congress,) to declare what constitutes a violation, and to affix the punishments which give effect to the declaration."

The editor of the Times must have been lately looking over the speeches of Mr. Dana, Dwight Foster, and R. Goodloe Harper; and perusing the *non sequiturs* of Judge Chase.

The interference of this official is very remarkable. "Why is he so angry?" said the *Darogah* in the Hindu apologue?—"Because he knows he is in the wrong," replied the *Motsudlie*.

We mean to make a frequent *reconnaissance* of the head quarter of Nullification.

## MISSISSIPPI.

A Convention of Delegates from 24 counties, consisting of 93 members, assembled on the 3d of November, at Jackson, in that State, in pursuance of a notification for that purpose. Gen. THOMAS HINDS, of Jefferson county, was called to the chair, and J. H. MALLORY, Secretary. Gen. Hinds is one of those who distinguished themselves at the memorable battle of New Orleans.

The proceedings, occupy nearly five close columns in small letter in the Mississippian, a paper as large as any of the Philadelphia daily journals, and published at Jackson. The length of the proceedings, and the great mass of public papers filed for publication, disable us from giving those interesting proceedings entire. We shall endeavor in our next, to give the Resolutions promulgated by the Convention, and a Speech, which may afford a very faithful specimen of the public spirit and intelligence of the people of this young and flourishing State.

The conduct of Mr. Poindexter and Mr. Black, of that State, in Congress, is handled with unreservedly severe censure; and the public measures of the Executive applauded, in terms which must be grateful to every man who loves his country, and is not infatuated by a sinister influence.

## JAMES BUCHANAN.

It is with pleasure we announce the election of this highly gifted and talented gentleman to the Senate of the United States by the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania.—James Buchanan is a warm supporter of the present administration, and a personal friend to Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren,

Dr. Linn has been re-elected to the United States Senate by the Legislature of Missouri. The vote stood Linn 75, scattering 19.—Dr. Linn is a warm supporter of the general administration.



## TWENTY-THIRD CONGRESS. SECOND SESSION.

### IN SENATE.

THURSDAY, December 4, 1834.

The following Message was received from the President of the United States, by the hands of ANDREW J. DONELSON, Esq., his private Secretary:

To the Senate of the United States:—

I transmit to Congress a communication addressed to me by Mr. George Washington La Fayette, accompanying a copy of the Declaration of Independence, engraved on copper, which his illustrious father bequeathed to Congress, to be placed in their Library, as a last tribute of respect, patriotic love, and affection, for his adopted country.

I have a mournful satisfaction in transmitting this precious bequest of that great and good man, who through a long life, under many vicissitudes, and in both hemispheres, sustained the principles of civil liberty asserted in that memorable declaration, and who, from his youth to the last moment of his life, cherished for our beloved country the most generous attachment.

ANDREW JACKSON.

The bequest accompanies the message to the House of Representatives.

A. J.

4th December, 1834.

Mr. EWING, in pursuance of notice yesterday, and on leave given, introduced a bill to settle and establish the Northern boundary line of the State of Ohio.

The resolutions submitted by Mr. POINDEXTER yesterday, were considered and adopted.

Mr. TIPTON submitted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Roads and Canals be instructed to inquire into the expediency of an appropriation to improve the navigation of the Wabash river.

### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, December 4, 1834.

On motion of Mr. WHITTLESEY, of Ohio, it was ordered, that the Standing Committees of the House be appointed.

On motion of Mr. GRENNELL,

*Resolved*, That two Chaplains, of different denominations, be elected by Congress, one by each House, to serve during the present session, who shall interchange weekly.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the Finances; which, on motion of Mr. POLK, was laid on the table, and 10,000 copies ordered to be printed.

The SPEAKER laid before the House a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, enclosing a copy of the Receipts and Expenditures of the Government for the year 1833; which, on motion of Mr. POLK, was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, enclosing a Report of the Register and Receiver of the Land Office at St. Stephens, Alabama; which, on motion of Mr. CONNOR, was laid on the table and ordered to be printed.

A Message was received from the President of the United States, transmitting a communication from George Washington La Fayette, which will be found, in the Senate's proceedings.

On motion of Mr. E. EVERETT, the communication was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The SPEAKER laid before the House a letter from the Clerk, enclosing his Annual Report of the disbursement of the Contingent Fund of the House for the year 1833; which, on motion of Mr. CONNOR was laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

The SPEAKER laid before the House a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, containing the Annual Estimates of Appropriations for the year 1835; which, on motion of Mr. POLK, was laid on the table, and directed to be printed.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the Annual Report of the Treasurer of the United States; which was laid on the table and ordered to be printed.

Mr. WARDELL submitted the following resolution, which lies one day for consideration:

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Navy be directed to report to this House, the amount expended in erecting the Ship House at Navy Point, in the county of Jefferson, and State of New York, and the expense of keeping the same in repair. Also, the like information in relation to the vessel built and lately sold at Storr's Harbor, in said county, and the amount of compensation allowed to the officer or officers, person or persons, who have from time to time had charge of the same. Also, the reasons, if any exist, for the further preservation of the vessel and Ship House at Navy Point. Also, that he report the amount heretofore paid for the use and occupation of the land now belonging to the heirs of Henry Eckford, deceased, at Navy Point and Storr's Harbor, on which the vessels New Orleans and Chip-

pewa were built, and also terms of any contract which may have been made with the Government, or its authorized agent, for the use and occupation of such land.

On motion of Mr. WHITE, of Florida, a report made by the Engineer Department at the last session, in relation to the canal between Pensacola and Mobile Bays, was ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. MANN, of New York, it was ordered that when the House adjourns, it will adjourn to meet again on Monday next.

On motion of Mr. MANN, of New York,  
The House then adjourned.

From the Globe.

### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Our columns are occupied with this important document. It presents, in a new and striking point of view, all the topics connected with the Revenues and Expenditures of the country.

The first grand result which will arrest public attention, is that which exhibits the state of the Treasury on the first of January next. The public is informed that there will be, on that day, an excess of nearly half a million over all the claims existing against the Treasury. This era of the extinction of the National Debt, is not only marked by an excess in the Treasury, but by another surplus fund which was once looked upon as a part of the means to be applied to its payment, viz. the \$7,000,000 of stock of the Bank of the United States. So that the nation is not only out of debt—a phenomenon in modern times—but is itself a fund-holder instead of being the prey of fund-holders. Instead of a sinking fund, with which it is happiness of other nations to be provided, ours is hereafter to look to the regulation of an accumulating fund; some admirable suggestions with regard to which will be found in the Report. The Secretary, it will be seen, recommends "the office of Commissioner of Loans to be abolished—the duties of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, and the provisions as to the fund itself, to be suspended;" and he adds, that with little legislation, enabling the Treasury to wind up the business—

"Every thing will be done by Congress which is deemed necessary to close up, it is hoped, forever all the once large public debt of these United States. By the payment of the whole of it with punctuality and fidelity, it is gratifying to reflect that our public credit as a nation has been raised to a high standing, and a large stock of confidence acquired from others, which in such future exigencies as are likely to happen sooner or later, in all countries, will aid us to procure ample and seasonable loans without ruinous discounts or delays. In pursuing this honorable course, the government of the Union has not only shown good faith abroad to its foreign friends and allies—those who lent assistance when most needed—but it has redeemed, whether at home or abroad, the entire debt of both the Revolution and the Late War, paid the purchase money for Florida and Louisiana, and with a most scrupulous sense of moral as well as political obligation, administered in various ways to the wants and atoned for many of the losses of those, who perilled life and fortune in the struggle for independence, in which our public debt had its sacred origin. It is an additional source of gratification, that this has been effected without imposing heavy burthens on the People, or leaving their Treasury empty, trade languishing, and industry paralyzed; but, on the contrary, with almost every great interest of society flourishing, with taxes reduced, a surplus of money on hand; valuable stocks and extensive lands still owned by the Government, and with such various other financial resources at command as to give to our country in this respect a very enviable superiority.

"When it is considered, that this has been effected by a young and at first not very numerous people, within about half a century, and who, during the same period, have provided such other and ample means to sustain their useful systems of Government, and to build up great and prosperous communities, we may well be proud of the illustration our country affords of the financial ability of free institutions, and of the high destinies in various respects, not appropriately noticeable on this occasion, but which may await our preservation of these institutions in their original vigor, purity, and republican simplicity."

With regard to the expenditures, concerning which the Opposition have raised a great outcry against the Administration in the late canvasses before the People, the Secretary's Report shows, that the excess beyond former years, after excluding payments to the public debt, have originated in appropriations made by Congress beyond the amounts called for in the estimates of the Departments. Upon this subject the Report says:

"It has been ascertained by a careful scrutiny and comparison, that much of the great expenditures of the last four years, besides

the payment of the debt, have arisen from appropriations by Congress to a larger amount, under particular heads, than the general estimates for the year, submitted by the Treasury, and from large appropriations to objects not specifically included in any estimates. To illustrate this, an abstract of a table of the general estimates, appropriations, and expenditures during the past three years, has been prepared and is submitted, showing a difference between the estimates and appropriations, independent of the public debt, in 1832, of between five and six millions, in 1833 of nearly five millions, and in 1834 of about three millions."

With the mass of important information contained in this paper, it combines very interesting views of public policy connected with the Finances of the Government, which gives it great interest.

[The entire report of the Secretary of the Treasury, will be given in the next number of the Aurora.]

A friend has furnished us the following resolutions, introduced into the Legislature of Alabama:

"Whereas, our Senator in Congress, the Hon. GABRIEL MOORE, has on sundry occasions during his official career, and especially during the latter part of it, both in and out of Congress, exhibited manifest and indubitable evidences of a close alliance and cordial co-operation with that combination of parties which have united themselves to oppose and embarrass the present National Administration—an administration which the People of Alabama feel a great anxiety to sustain, because they believe its prominent measures and course of policy to be dictated by wisdom and patriotism, and under which they have experienced a degree of liberty, happiness, and prosperity unsurpassed in any other age or clime: And whereas, in so doing, Senator MOORE has evinced a strong partiality, if not positively committed himself in favor of the heretical doctrine of Nullification, which the people of this State hold to be in its practical tendencies, fatal to the harmony and perpetuity of our inestimable Union, and pursued a course of conduct in palpable violation of the known wishes, and disregard to the known sentiments of a large majority of his constituents—the good people of Alabama: therefore,

*Be it resolved*, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Alabama in General Assembly convened, That the immediate resignation of Senator MOORE would entirely comport with their wishes, and, in their decided and unhesitating opinion, with the wishes of an overwhelming majority of the voters of this State.

*And be it further Resolved*, That, under such circumstances, it is the duty of Senator MOORE, in justice to the constituency that he has misrepresented, to the remnant of devotion to republican principles that he yet professes, and the vital and fundamental principles of our Representative system of Government, to transmit, forthwith, his resignation to his Excellency the Governor, that an individual more acceptable to the People of this State, and better calculated conscientiously and properly to represent their wishes, may be elected by their Representatives.

*And be it further Resolved*, That his Excellency the Governor of this State be, and he is hereby requested to forward forthwith a copy of the foregoing Preamble and Resolutions to the Hon. GABRIEL MOORE."—Globe.

### MR. WEBSTER'S CONFESSION.

Mr. Webster in his speech at the Charlestown Swiggery said:

"If one set of opinions are paid and others are not paid, which of the two are most likely to be embraced?—[a lawyers question.] Those that are paid are adopted by those who will write and fight for PAY, and those individuals then carry on war against the community on the basis of their own interests."

*Moral*.—Daniel Webster voted against the incorporation of the present Bank—the Bank has paid him, aye paid him liberally, profusely, enormously. He is now for the Bank, carrying on the Bank war against the community, whether on the "basis of his own interests" or not, let the people judge.—Boston Post.

A spark from the engine Ponchartrain, communicated to some United States' cartridges boxes, with which one of the luggage cars were loaded, and two of them, containing 2000 ball cartridges each, blew up. Unfortunately a man—we believe a U. S. soldier—who was sitting on the boxes, was literally blown into the woods. We have not been able to learn whether he was killed, as the car did not stop at the time;—it is thought that if not killed, he is badly injured. The car on which the accident occurred was set on fire. The explosion was sufficiently violent to burst an iron plate on the front part of the car, half an inch thick.—New Orleans Advertiser.



## GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

To the Senate and House of Representatives,  
of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—To communicate information of the state of the Commonwealth to those to whom the people have delegated the business of legislation, at the commencement of their session, is an executive duty not less grateful than it is imperative; especially when the actual condition of the State presents an aspect so truly prosperous as that which, in our own, is every where conspicuous. The season which we have just passed, has been distinguished for its general health, its liberal harvests, and for the general (I regret that I am not at liberty to say the universal) peace and tranquillity that prevailed. In every part of our flourishing Commonwealth, the hand of a beneficent providence may be traced, dispensing its never failing blessings in rich profusion to all, and bountifully scattering its abundance over, it is sincerely hoped, a grateful land.

In our national relations we have been no less favored. A prosperity, as universal as it must be gratifying and acceptable to all, pervades every portion of our extensive Union, and sheds the blessings of contentment, independence, and plenty, over an industrious, enterprising, and intelligent people. Abounding in every thing that can promote the comfort, increase the wealth, and ensure the happiness of a people; at peace with all the world, and in the enjoyment of a Government which affords us security and protection in all our rights, as individuals and as a nation, at home, and commands universal admiration and respect abroad—we should be wanting in justice to the free and happy country in which we live, its institutions and laws, and the protection and security they afford us, as well as in gratitude to the bountiful bestower of all the blessings we enjoy, should we utter the voice of complaint or suffer the murmurings of our unthankfulness to escape our lips.

In this pleasing picture of prosperity and comparative tranquillity, the only cause for regret, tending to mar the brightness of the retrospect, which otherwise would have been most cheering, is to be found in certain tumultuous risings of the people in some of our Atlantic cities, entirely at variance with that peace-loving, orderly character, theretofore maintained by our citizens generally, and from which, I am sorry to say, our own proverbially staid and sober metropolis was not entirely exempt. In the progress of these riots many lives were endangered, and much valuable property was destroyed. The same lawless spirit extended itself, unhappily also, into one of the boroughs in the interior of the State, where similar outrages were committed. As such wanton, riotous doings, independently of their tendency to peril and endanger human life, and individual property, are degrading to the character of a people, and a blot upon the integrity of its civil institutions, it is submitted for legislative inquiry, whether the existing laws furnish a remedy sufficiently prompt and energetic for crushing such outrages upon the peace of society, in their inception as the public safety requires; or whether further legislative provisions for strengthening the arm of the civil magistrate, and clothing him with more ample powers to meet such emergencies with a promptness and energy suitable to the occasion, would not have a tendency to prevent, as well as to check such unjustifiable proceedings?

It is with feelings, also, of deep and unmingled regret, that I am constrained, by a sense of public duty, to bring to the view of the General Assembly an occurrence of a most melancholy nature, which took place in the City of Philadelphia, in the month of October last, on the day assigned by law for choosing inspectors of the general elections throughout the State, by which an amiable, unoffending, and highly estimable citizen was deprived of his life; having been wantonly and basely stabbed and wounded, with a deadly weapon, by some reckless assassin, who has hitherto escaped detection.

An outrage, of a character which ultimately proved no less fatal to another individual, also took place, in the vicinity of the scene of murder above mentioned, on the day of the last general election, in the course of which the lives of a number of individuals were jeopardized, having been severely wounded with shot fired from muskets and other deadly weapons, and to which wanton outrage the death of the person alluded to is to be attributed. In retaliation for these acts of violence so entirely indefensible, property of considerable value fell a prey to the fury of an incensed populace, whose feelings had become exasperated at the sight of the injuries inflicted upon their wounded friends. Whatever may have been the causes that led to such gross violations of law and order, it must be manifest to all, that such proceedings ought not to be tolerated in a government of laws, and in a country which boasts of its freedom—they are entirely incompatible with both. The subject is, therefore, brought to the notice of the General Assembly, as being the only department of the Government possessing the power to provide an effectual re-

medy against a recurrence of such disgraceful scenes of lawless atrocity and unjustifiable violence.

The people have an undeniable right to be protected by their Government, in the exercise of that invaluable privilege of freedom, the elective franchise; and no means should be left untried to secure to them that right in its broadest form, and to be exercised in a manner at once safe from violence, and entirely free from every species of restraint. A revision of the laws regulating the general elections, within this Commonwealth, with a view to attain the objects alluded to, would, I doubt not, be attended with the happiest effects.

In pursuance of an act entitled "An act to continue the improvement of the State by canals and rail-roads," passed the 5th day of April last, authorizing the Governor to borrow, on the credit of the Commonwealth, the sum of \$2,265,400, a notice was prepared by the Secretary of the Commonwealth on the 16th of April, in the usual form, and published in newspapers printed at Harrisburg, Philadelphia, and New York, inviting proposals for 600,000 dollars, part of the loan authorized as aforesaid, to be forwarded to the Secretary's office until one o'clock P. M. of the 5th of June then next, and for the residuary sum of \$1,665,400 until one o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th day of July then next. On the first mentioned of which days the loan of 600,000 dollars was awarded to Elihu Chauncey, Esq. of the City of Philadelphia, at his offer of 102 dollars and 58 cents in money for every 100 dollars of stock; being 57 cents more per 100 dollars of stock than any other offer received for that portion of said loan—and on the 10th day of July the day assigned for that purpose, the residue of the said loan, being 1,665,400 dollars, was contracted for with the Bank of Pennsylvania, at the price or sum of 105 dollars and 3 cents in money for every 100 dollars of stock; being one cent more per share of stock than any other offer received for that portion of the loan aforesaid. By these several transactions, the State will have realized in premiums upon the receipt of the last instalment of said loan, the sum of 99,249 dollars and 62 cents.

Although this sum falls short of the amount received in former years in the shape of premiums upon loans, still taking into consideration the unfavorable circumstances existing at the time the loans were contracted for, the consequence of a groundless panic or dread, impressed upon the minds of capitalists, disinclining them to adventure upon a transaction of such magnitude, the terms upon which the loan was disposed of were quite as advantageous to the Commonwealth as could reasonably have been expected. It is proper here to remark, that the temporary loans of \$300,000 authorized by act of the twenty-seventh day of January last, and which was negotiated with certain banks, was repaid to the several banks on the 1st of August, out of the proceeds of the permanent loan above mentioned, in pursuance of a resolution of the General Assembly, passed the fifteenth day of April last.

By an act of Assembly, entitled "An act to fix the standards and denominations of measures and weights in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," approved the 15th day of April last, it is made the duty of the Governor to procure for the Commonwealth, within certain limited periods, positive standards of weights and measures; but no provision is made by the act for defraying the expenses which must be incurred by a compliance with its directions. The propriety of appropriating a sum sufficient to carry the objects of the act into effect, to be drawn for as occasion may require, is respectfully suggested.

At the last session of the legislature, an act was passed for establishing a general system of education, by common schools, throughout the Commonwealth, in compliance with a constitutional provision, which, until then, although not entirely disregarded, had never been carried into effect in the manner intended by the members of the convention, to whose sagacity and profound political wisdom we are indebted for the present excellent constitution of our State. The act referred to was prepared, by those to whom the arrangement of its details was committed, under many embarrassing and discouraging circumstances, and there would be no great cause for astonishment if it should be found to be not entirely perfect. The subject was new in Pennsylvania; the path to be trodden had never been explored; a former attempt to introduce the system had failed; and the question how far public opinion would go in sustaining such a project could not then be distinctly ascertained. Petitions containing the names of many respectable individuals in different parts of the State, in favor of such a measure, had, however, been presented during the last and preceding session of the Legislature, and there was reason to believe that a strong desire was manifesting itself in favor of the adoption of some system that would have a tendency to give life and vigor to the cause of education throughout the State. By great industry, assiduity and perseverance, a mass of valuable information was obtained, which unfolded a fund of knowledge in relation to the advantages, the utility, the cheapness—in short, the decided preference which a sys-

tem of common schools, of general interest, and sustained and encouraged by the public bounty, maintained over every other plan of education of a private or partial character. From a careful examination of the information thus collected, from every part of the Union in which the experiment of general education had been made, the principles of the bill alluded to, were extracted and framed into a law, having passed both branches of the legislature with a unanimity rarely equalled, perhaps never surpassed in the annals of legislation.

The provisions of this act have, it is understood, been adopted, by all the school districts in some counties, partially in others and in a few they have been rejected altogether. This, it is understood, was the case in some of our sister States, in the commencement of the system there; and it was to be expected in the inception of the system here. Every new measure, although it may have for its object to confer the most solid advantages upon the community in which it is to operate, is destined, for the most part, to encounter long cherished, inveterate prejudices, which it will be difficult to conquer, unless the most incontestible demonstrations can be given of its title to preference, on the score of unquestionable public utility, over that which it is intended to supplant. This act is said to be defective in its details, it probably is so; some of its provisions might possibly be improved by introducing salutary amendments. But as it will go partially into operation in the course of the coming year, its objectionable features will be developed by the practical experiments under it, and the remedies proper to be applied will present less difficulty after the defects will have been distinctly ascertained. Such amendments as are obviously necessary to a more equal distribution of the public bounty, or appropriation for the benefit of all the citizens of the State; to prevent the imposing of unequal burdens upon those who accept the provisions of the act, and such as do not; or that will be discovered to be in any respect necessary for giving effect to the system, the General Assembly will not fail, it is presumed, to discover and introduce.—Coming as you do from all parts of the State you will naturally have brought with you a fund of information in relation to this important measure, which the Executive, whose opportunities for ascertaining public sentiment are more circumscribed, cannot be supposed to possess. It is exceedingly desirable that a system which is to exert an influence so universal and so all important, over the moral and intellectual character and condition of the people of this State, should not only be made as perfect as possible, but as acceptable and as agreeable as possible to those who are to be affected by it. That the system of education for which the act in question provides, is decidedly preferable, in every conceivable point of view, to that now in operation, no man who will give himself the trouble to draw a faithful comparison between the two, can for a moment hesitate about or doubt. If the act now under consideration goes into operation, the odious distinction between rich and poor, wealth and indigence, which has heretofore precluded the children of many indigent, though honest and respectable parents from a participation in the advantages of education under the present system, will be exploded, and the poor man's child will be placed upon an equality with that of his wealthiest neighbor, both in the school room and when indulging in their necessary recreations.

Another decided advantage will be derived to fathers of families and others interested in educating children, from the provisions of this law, in the great diminution in the expense of tuition, whilst those who have no children to educate will be exposed to no increase of their taxes for education purposes, but in all probability will have them materially diminished as soon as the system shall have gone fully into effect; but a further and still more important advantage than either of the other two, will result to the rising generation, upon which this law is more immediately to operate, from the more efficient manner of instruction, and the great disparity in the learning, the character, and competency of many of the present teachers, and those to be employed hereafter. The want of these advantages constitute the great defect in the system now in operation in Pennsylvania.

This may be emphatically pronounced to be a measure belonging to the era of 1790, and not to that of 1834. To insist that it emanated either from the Executive or the Legislature, however desirable it might be to appropriate the proud distinction of being its projector, is an entire fallacy. Such a monument of imperishable fame was not reserved for the men of modern times—it belongs to the statesmen of by-gone days. To the patriots who framed the constitution under which we live, and under which we have been pre-eminently prosperous and happy, belongs the proud trophy—it is to them we are indebted for the wholesome measure—they inscribed it upon the sacred tablet of the constitution, as a lasting memorial of their determination that universal education should form one of the pillars of the Government; and as an abiding testimonial of the high value they attached to the dissemination of knowledge as a protection and safeguard to our free institutions; and we are admonished by the



language of the matchless instrument which proceeded from their hands, as by a voice from the grave, that the solemn injunctions which they engrafted upon it, in behalf of education, must not be regarded.

Having on several occasions taken the oath prescribed by law for the Executive of the State, making it obligatory upon him among other things, to support the constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, I should have considered myself justly chargeable with inexcusable official delinquency, if, upon any proper occasion, I had omitted to urge upon the attention of the General Assembly, the propriety of carrying into effect a constitutional provision of no ordinary interest, which, after the lapse of more than forty years, remained as it was on the day of the adoption of that instrument, to all practical purposes—a dead letter.

In my last annual message, I took occasion to introduce to the notice of the General Assembly the subject of corporations generally, and to suggest the propriety of restricting our legislation, in regard to conferring corporate powers, to such enterprises exclusively, as are of incontestable public utility; to the accomplishment of which individual capital and credit would be inadequate, and that it ought not to be extended to such branches of business as can be successfully carried on by individual exertion and individual means. The privilege of voting by proxy at elections for officers, and for deciding important measures connected with the management of such public bodies, was also alluded to as being incompatible with the spirit of our free institutions. My opinions in relation to these subjects have undergone no change, but on the contrary have been much strengthened since the promulgation of that document. It cannot be denied that every incorporation that is authorized, and every monopoly that is established, even for the most useful public purposes, is a deviation from that republican simplicity which the principles upon which our admirable form of government is predicted, would seem to inculcate, and a virtual encroachment upon our liberties. By multiplying these formidable, irresponsible public bodies, we shall, in the process of time, raise up within the Commonwealth an aristocratic combination of powers, which will dictate its own laws, and put at defiance the Government and the People—We have recently had a strong illustration of the power and dangerous tendency of such institutions, and it may be well to learn wisdom from experience. These observations have been suggested by a knowledge of the fact, that a morbid, restless solicitude, to produce a state of incautious legislation, tending to precipitate a system of legalized speculation upon the People of this Commonwealth, has, for some time past, but too conspicuously manifested itself in our legislative halls, in the shape of applications for the incorporation of monopolies of various descriptions. A depraved, unsound spirit, evincing a vitiated anxiety for the establishment of banking institutions, and other corporations possessing exclusive privileges, seems to have marked the era in which we live, as one peculiarly distinguished for its inveterate oppugnancy to the tardy but certain method of securing competency and independence, pursued by the men of other days, as well as for its peculiar predilections in favor of some shorter and less difficult path, by which to arrive at wealth and power.

To encourage this spirit any further, at this time, would be as unwise, as our too liberal legislation in sustaining it heretofore was impolitic and injudicious. Public opinion seems to have set its seal of reprobation upon such a course—and instead of being favorable to a further extension of banking institutions, and their necessary concomitant, an increased paper circulation, its recent expression evinced a decided opposition to any measure connected with this subject, short of introducing into our circulating medium, a due proportion of the metallic currency contemplated by the Constitution of the United States. In order to accomplish an object so desirable, and to reform the circulation within our own State by contracting or reducing the amount of paper money now afloat, and substituting in its stead a more sound and permanent standard of value, it seems to be essential that the legislation of the State with regard to an increase of banking institutions should be forthwith checked.

It cannot be doubted that an increase of Banks, whilst they would add nothing to the actual capital of the country, would contribute largely to increase the already too redundant supply of bank paper, the value of much of which might well be questioned, should an immediate demand for converting it into specie be made and insisted on. Allow me also to suggest, for legislative consideration another measure as a valuable auxiliary for introducing an increased circulation of the precious metals—I mean the propriety of extending the provisions of the act of Assembly, entitled, 'an act concerning small notes for the payment of money,' passed the 12th day of April, 1829, to all bank notes of a denomination less than ten dollars. By causing bank paper of a description under the sum mentioned, to be gradually withdrawn from circulation, the introduction of Gold and Silver coins in sufficient quantities to supply the vacuum thus produced

would immediately follow. A more stable, sound and permanent circulation, in which the public would have confidence, would be established, over issues would be prevented, the exportation of gold and silver would in a great measure cease; the working classes of the community would receive an equivalent for their labor in which they could confide; wild and ruinous speculation would receive a wholesome check, and fluctuations in the value of property, so detrimental to the prosperity of the country, would be less frequent.

A further safeguard against the ruinous consequences resulting to the community from excessive issues of bank paper, will be found in imposing wholesome restrictions upon those institutions, both in regard to their circulation and their credits or discounts, neither of which should be allowed to exceed a certain prescribed sum, over and above the amount of the capital stock of the institution, much reduced below that now allowed by law; and that a portion of the excess of dividends over a certain per centage to be determined by the Legislature upon the amount paid on each share of Stock, should be paid into the State Treasury, as an annual equivalent for the privileges conferred, to be applied to the education fund, or such other beneficial public purposes as the Legislature may from time to time direct. Such a course of Legislation, it is believed, would place our State institutions upon a basis at once solid and substantial; would quench the desire for an increase of banking privileges, and would go far to guard the community against the danger of those sudden expansions and contractions, which have heretofore so injuriously and ruinously affected all the great interests of the country, as well agricultural and manufacturing as commercial. There is no species of property that may, with a greater regard to justice, be resorted to for contributions for beneficial or useful public purposes, than that which is derived from the profits arising from the business transactions of monied institutions. Being endowed with privileges from which the rest of the community is excluded, it is but reasonable that a part of the bounty they have received to the exclusion of others, should be returned to the public in case of the burdens which would otherwise have to be borne by their less fortunate neighbors. In introducing the measure recommended into our monied system, care must be taken, however, that it be done cautiously and gradually, and in a manner to enable those institutions to meet the change without the necessity of suddenly curtailing their business operations or injuriously affecting the industry or the general prosperity of the country.

The fiscal relations of the Commonwealth for the year ending on the 1st day of November last, have been such as to enable the Treasury to meet the various demands upon it, notwithstanding the great diminution of the proceeds of some of the sources of revenue, and the heavy claims to which it was subjected by the liberal appropriations granted for local objects, during the last and preceding session of the Legislature, and which were called for within the last fiscal year.

The receipts into the Treasury for the year ending as above, including the balance remaining therein on the 1st of November, 1833, amounted to the sum of \$1,614,816 91 cents; and the expenditures during the same period, were \$1,560,724 71 cents; leaving a balance in the Treasury on the 1st of November last, of \$54,092 20 cents; of which balance, however, the sum of \$50,000 was due to the internal improvement fund, from which it had been borrowed for the purpose of meeting the payment of interest on the 1st of August last, in pursuance of the act of the 15th of April last—leaving a nett balance therefore in the Treasury, at the end of the fiscal year, of \$4,092 20 cents.

The great disparity between the balance remaining in the Treasury at the end of the present and those of former years, is to be ascribed, in part, to causes which are beyond the possibility of control, and partly to causes which are exclusively within the power and control of the Legislature. An unexpected diminution in the revenues arising from lands, auction duties, collateral inheritance tax, and some other sources of revenue, constitutes the first class of causes: and a drain upon the Treasury, authorized by large appropriations of money for numerous local objects, already alluded to, forms the second—the sums appropriated and paid at the Treasury during the fiscal year, amounting in the aggregate to \$230,331 38 cents. The day is not far distant when the finances of the State will justify a liberal appropriation of money for useful local objects of every description; but it is respectfully submitted whether, under the existing state of the revenue of the Commonwealth, sound policy does not require that there should be a prudent forbearance, in that respect, for the present; and until the revenues about to be derived from other sources than those now relied on, will justify greater liberality in our expenditures.

I would take occasion here to remark, that there is no officer either in the city and county of Philadelphia or in any of the counties of the state, whose immediate duty it is to attend to or to enforce the payment of the tax upon collateral inheritances, which in many cases is entirely evaded—and it is understood

that there is great remissness and a want of correct knowledge necessary to the just and equitable assessment and apportionment of the duties upon licenses of wholesale dealers and retailers of foreign merchandise, and other sources of revenue, and that there are many thousands of dollars lost to the state annually, in the city and county of Philadelphia, alone, which the vigilance of an active officer appointed for the purpose would secure and bring into the Treasury. To remedy this defect therefore, in the collection of this portion of the public revenue, allow me to recommend that the Attorney General and his deputies, in the city and county of Philadelphia, and the several counties throughout the state, be invested with the authority necessary for compelling executors and administrators, in all cases in which the estates of their decedents are subject to the payment of the tax upon collateral inheritances, to render and settle their accounts, and to pay over the amount of tax due to the Commonwealth from such states, at the times and in the manner prescribed by law; and to be authorized to aid in the apportionment and to enforce the collection also, of such other branches of the public revenue as may claim their attention—receiving as a compensation for their services, such reasonable per centage upon the sums by them collected, as may be considered to be just—or that such other measures may be adopted to accomplish the object, as the General Assembly may in their wisdom deem expedient and proper. It is believed that a strict attention to the collection of the revenues to which the Commonwealth is entitled, together with the accession from new sources, and a careful husbanding of the whole, will enable the state to meet all its ordinary engagements, and that the necessity for continuing in force the act entitled "An act to increase the county rates and levies for the use of the Commonwealth," passed the 25th day of March, eighteen hundred and thirty-one, and which will expire by its own limitation on the 25th day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six, may then be dispensed with.

I have the satisfaction to announce to the General Assembly that our public works, in the construction of which the State has been engaged for the last eight years, have been so far completed as to admit of transportation throughout their whole extent, except the second track of the rail road across the Allegheny mountain, which, it is understood, will be finished in time for the opening of the navigation in the spring. Upon some of the other lines there are still minor jobs remaining unfinished, but which are rapidly progressing towards completion. For all practical purposes of transportation, however, all the lines may be said to be finished, with the single exception mentioned.

The State has now seven hundred and twenty miles of public improvements, which in point of extent, execution and prospective usefulness, may challenge a comparison with any other structure known to modern times. Of these improvements, six hundred and one miles and a quarter consist of canals and slack water navigation; and one hundred and eighteen miles and three quarters are rail ways. The whole of these public works are so located as to penetrate those sections of the Commonwealth which, from their known fertility and mineral wealth, gave the greatest promise of a successful commerce with the great Eastern and Western emporiums of the State; and more perhaps, than any other sections, required those facilities which would have a tendency more effectually to develop their abundant, and in a measure, still latent resources, and for transporting them to market, which these great State improvements were alone calculated to furnish.

The whole cost of construction which the Commonwealth will have incurred, when all her lines of improvement, now about to be completed, shall have been entirely finished, including the sum which will be required for that purpose for the current year will amount to the sum of twenty-two millions one hundred and fourteen thousand nine hundred and fifteen dollars and forty-one cents. This sum will doubtless sound large to such as are unacquainted with the character of the improvements, their design, extent, and great public importance; but when these expensive works were constructed by the State in her own defence, to preserve her commerce from the grasp of powerful rival neighbors, and that her great chain of internal improvements has added, and will continue to add, incalculable millions to her present wealth and resources, the marvel will cease.

Upon most of the loans negotiated for the construction of the public works, the State received premiums to an amount, in the main, sufficient in connexion with the other revenues set apart for that purpose, to meet the payment of interest upon the whole amount of the State debt, at the respective periods when the same became due. The increase of tolls upon the public works will, it is not doubted, supply the place of premiums hereafter; and it is confidently believed that the people of no State in the Union, in which public works have been constructed at the public expense, have been less burdened with the payment of taxes in proportion to the extent and magnitude of their respective improvements, than the People of this State have been. And such are



the flattering prospects in regard to the future revenues which the Pennsylvania canal and rail roads will produce, that it is more than probable, as I have before stated, that after the twenty-fifth of March, eighteen hundred and thirty-six taxation for these objects will not be required.

The amount of tolls received on all the public improvements during the fiscal year ending on the first of November last, was three hundred and nine thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine dollars and fifteen cents—there were, however, in the hands of the collectors before the close of the year, but which did not reach the Treasury until after the accounts for the year had been closed by that department, tolls amounting to thirteen thousand seven hundred and forty-five dollars and ninety-three cents, which added to the sum first mentioned, will make the amount actually received within the year three hundred and twenty-three thousand five hundred and thirty-five dollars and eight cents. This sum falls considerably short of the estimate made at the close of the preceding fiscal year, and yet, considering the adverse circumstances which existed at the opening of the navigation in the spring, and the uncontrollable natural impediments which occurred in the summer and part of the fall, the receipts of tolls were quite as large as could have been expected. The operating causes which reduced their amount below the estimate of five hundred thousand dollars, were, a want of preparation, at the commencement of the spring transportation, on the part of the owners of transportation lines, in not having provided a sufficient number of cars upon the Portage rail road, nor an adequate number of boats upon the western division of the canal, for conveying the merchandise and produce along the several lines to their respective places of destination. The delays consequent upon this state of unpreparedness, occasioned large quantities of merchandise to be sent to the west through other channels, which would in preference, under other circumstances, have sought a conveyance upon the Pennsylvania improvements. A drought in the west, of unexampled duration, reduced and continued the waters of the Ohio river so low, as to prevent western produce from reaching Pittsburgh by the steam boats; thus depriving the transporters upon the Pennsylvania lines of improvement, for a long time, of full cargoes to be carried to the eastern markets. Other causes may have contributed to diminish the amount of tolls, but those mentioned, it is believed, operated more powerfully than any other in producing that result.

A recurrence of such unpropitious circumstances cannot happen hereafter, at least so far as those engaged in the carrying trade upon the State improvement are concerned. It is understood that the owners of the several transportation lines of boats and cars, are making ample preparation for commencing and carrying on an extensive business during the next season; and as the public works will all then be in a condition for conveying all the merchandise and produce that may offer to the respective places of destination, and the public confidence in the stability and safety of that mode of conveyance will have become more confirmed and settled, the tolls to be received from the several improvements during the current year, may, it is believed, be safely estimated at double the amount of those received in the last fiscal year, which will be about six hundred and fifty thousand dollars. A higher estimate has, however, been made by the accounting officers upon data which in their opinion may be relied on.

For the amount of expenditures in relation to these works, and the details generally as connected with them you are respectfully referred to the report of the Board of Canal Commissioners and the documents accompanying the same.

The great chain of valuable public works which may now be said to be consummated, and which every friend of Pennsylvania's true interests will contemplate with an honest glow of patriotic pride and pleasure, was for a long time considered of doubtful experiment both in regard to its practicability and its ultimate success; and its eventual completion may well be regarded as a strong exemplification of the unlimited extent to which the achievements of a patriotic, enterprising people, actuated by a spirit of virtuous emulation and jealous of its rights, may be carried. Had this line of intercommunication between our great commercial metropolis in the East and the head of steamboat navigation in the West never been completed, this powerful State, instead of commanding as she now does, and forever hereafter must do, a large and valuable portion of the western trade by which her wealth and enterprise will be immeasurably increased, would even now have her commercial energies paralyzed and be doomed to stand by and with folded arms see not only the rich and endless commerce of the West, lured by the channels of communication opened for it by her rival neighbors, to their great commercial emporiums; but even that of a large portion of her own territory would have passed out of her own limits, by the same medium of conveyance, to the same place of destination.

The accomplishment of this portion of her great system of canals and rail roads has, however, placed our State so firmly on the vantage ground, in respect to the commerce of the West, and will have so effectually secured the whole of her own, that it will be no easy task to supplant her, hereafter in regard to either. And having gained this great and all important object, if it were possible that she should even be prevented from realizing a single dollar in the shape of tolls from her improvements, her true interests would nevertheless have been advanced to an extent immeasurably beyond their cost. But independently of the great advantage just mentioned, her inexhaustible stores of wealth, which have hitherto lain dormant, and which her public works are destined to unlock; the increased value they will impart to every description of property throughout their whole extent; and the incalculable accumulation of tolls they will inevitably produce, will not fail to make Pennsylvania, as the God of Nature seems to have intended she should be, the first State in this great confederacy.

I cannot dismiss this subject without bringing to the view of the General Assembly the claims of the people of the North and North Western portions of the State. They urge, and with reason, their title to a share of the public liberality in the construction of public works, they allege, what is most certainly true, that they have manfully stood by the system of internal improvement from its inception to the consummation of that portion of it which is now completed, and have given it aid and encouragement; that they have borne their share of the public burden, and contributed their money for its accomplishment, in the shape of taxes; they aver that the system, as originally designed, will not be completed until a connexion shall have been formed with the Elmira canal, in the State of New York, by an improvement along the North Branch of the Susquehanna; nor until the waters of Lake Erie are made to intermingle with those of the Allegheny and the Delaware by opening a communication by some eligible route to be fixed upon for connecting the harbor of Erie with the Allegheny river at Pittsburgh. That the claims of these citizens are strong, is undeniable; that the system as originally designed was intended to embrace at least one of those points, if not both, is not doubted; that they have stood by and borne their share of the heat and burden of the day, in that which has been accomplished, it is but sheer justice to them to say; that the true policy of the State as well as the justice of the claims preferred, favor the project of carrying the system to its consummation, at no distant day, will scarcely admit of a doubt.

The claims are respectfully submitted: the time, the manner, and the means, are subjects worthy of profound Legislative deliberation; and the state of the public finance: as connected with immediate operations, must form a distinguished feature in the decision of the General Assembly upon these important measures. It is but just that, in connexion with the subjects adverted to, I should mention the contemplated connexion of the Ohio canal with the Pennsylvania improvements, at some point, to be designated by the Legislature of that State. No decisive steps have, however, as yet been taken by the State of Ohio, for carrying the contemplated measure into effect. Should a movement be made by her Legislature for authorizing the proposed connexion, it seems to me the subject holds out advantages too important to be neglected, and which should induce immediate corresponding measures on the part of the General Assembly of this State. I would also mention, whilst upon the subject of our internal improvements, that upon the argument of a bill in equity filed in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Eastern district of Pennsylvania, praying an injunction to restrain certain superintendents and agents of the Board of Canal Commissioners from proceeding in the erection of a dam, digging a trench, and diverting and using the water on the land of the complainants, for the purpose of establishing water stations for supplying the locomotive and stationary engines upon the Philadelphia and Columbia Rail Road with the necessary quantity of water, the Court, although they admitted that taking the several acts of the last session, authorizing the purchase of locomotive engines, and the preservation of water stations, drains, &c. belonging to said road, in connexion, their phraseology went far to show that it was the intention of the Legislature to authorize the making of the latter; yet they seemed to doubt whether such intention could be so made out as to convey the power to enter on private property and make a permanent appropriation of a water course for such a purpose.

As this question is intended to be brought before the court shortly for final adjudication, I shall be excused, I trust, for urging upon the immediate attention of the General Assembly, the necessity of removing all doubt upon that subject, by the passage of an act declaratory of the intention of the Legislature to vest in the appropriate officers of the commonwealth the necessary powers for carrying into effect the contemplated improvement, and for using all the appropriate means for rendering it available for the purposes for which it was originally designed. It is proper to mention, at the same time, that the discussion of the

question alluded to has elicited a fact which heretofore had escaped observation, namely, that there is not either in the several acts referred to, nor in any of the preceding acts passed for the improvement of the State by canals and rail-roads, any express provision made for authorizing the appropriation of the property of individuals for their location or that of their necessary appendages, or for taking the materials and other requisites indispensable for their construction, and for making them usefully operative when completed. Nor is there any direct or express authority contained in either of those acts, for making compensation for private property thus taken for public use, although from their phraseology all those powers are abundantly implied.

In order, therefore, that the several powers and authorities intended to be conferred by law upon the agents of the commonwealth in the particulars referred to, may be stripped of all difficulty and doubt for the future, allow me respectfully to recommend that they be severally incorporated in express terms, among the provisions to be contained in the declaratory act, the early passage of which has just been urged upon your consideration.

It is ardently desired by a large portion of our fellow citizens, that a thorough revision of the present militia system should take place. This measure is one of the first importance, and will not be overlooked by a vigilant Legislature. The views expressed in the last annual message, with regard to that important arm of our national defence, are still entertained, and the opinion that to make the system effective, legislation in regard to it must commence in Congress, is confirmed by the action of the Legislatures of several of our sister States in calling the attention of that body to it.

Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, directing the attention of our senators and representatives in Congress to the subject, might have a tendency to quicken the action of that body in relation to it. The resolutions might be so framed as to urge upon the Legislatures of the other States of the Union, the propriety of adopting similar measures, with a view to the more speedy and effectual accomplishment of the object.

A letter has been received from the Honorable William Wilkins, late a Senator in Congress, resigning his seat in that body. The attention of the General Assembly is respectfully invited to the subject, in order that the vacancy may be filled at as early a period as practicable, Congress being now in session, and a full representation of the State, in that body desirable.

A further report by the commissioners appointed to revise the civil code may be expected shortly. The gentlemen engaged in that arduous work are laboring assiduously to bring it to a close. The undertaking is one requiring much investigation, deep reflection, and great care in the compilation and arrangement of the subject matter, as well as the detail, necessary to enter into a code of laws for regulating the civil relations of a community so numerous and diffuse as ours; and it may become necessary to grant a further extension of the time allotted to them, in order to enable them to complete a work which they have been prosecuting with so much ability, and, I may add, with so much advantage to the public. Several of the bills reported by the commissioners have not received the legislative sanction, but remain among the unfinished business of the last session. Some of those bills would, it is understood, if enacted into laws, be of primary importance, and especially that relating to the inspection of produce of various descriptions, as it would have an important bearing upon the western trade seeking transportation upon our canals and rail roads, and consequently upon the amount of tolls to be derived from them.

An agreement has been concluded and signed by the commissioners appointed on the part of this State and the State of New Jersey, in relation to the use of the waters of the Delaware river, which will require the sanction of the Legislatures of the respective States to render it effectual.

The report of the commissioners will be laid before you shortly, together with the agreement. From the high character of the gentlemen entrusted with this negotiation, for intelligence and capacity, we may reasonably anticipate that such an arrangement has been made, as will be entirely satisfactory to the people of both States, by effectually securing the rights of each.

The arrangements of the districts for holding terms of the Supreme Courts, made at the last session of the Legislature, and the entire abolition of the Circuit Courts, seem to have met the approbation generally of those connected with the administration of justice. The change is believed to have operated as a great relief to the judges of that Court, by ridding them of an exceedingly oppressive weight of judicial labor; while it has placed them in a condition to put an end to the complaints of "the law's delay," and enabled them to despatch the public business with promptness, and more satisfaction to themselves, as well as to those who are to be affected by their decisions. Several bills, I understand, will be laid before you at an early period of your session, by the commissioners appointed to revise the civil code, re-



